113, 592, 131, 563, 105 Miao AE5

[For information pertaining to the household size, distribution, and tribal subdivisions of the Miao, see 2: Wiens AF17 South China, category 116, Pp. 282-284, 286-287. For a cultural summary of the Miao, see ibid., category 116, Pp. 51, 318. --Analyst]

/29 cont'd/

439 436 Their trade with the Chinese is carried on both by barter and by the use of corns. When they exchange rice for goods with the Chinese it is the latter kind of trade; when they use money to buy things, it is the former. (In 1935, when silver was nationalized by the Chinese government, paper currency replaced silver coins throughout the country. But the Li and the Miao refused to accept the paper currency, and their medium of exchange continued to be silver or brass coins.) The trade between the Miao and the Chinese is [71] exactly the same as that between the Chinese and the Li. In my book, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island, I have described in detail the kinds of commodities traded between the Chinese and the Li and the prices of each, so that it is unnecessary 439 to repeat them here. The Miao export such things as rice, grain, cotton, edible tree fungi, and hides, but only on a small scale. Occasionally, there are also a few relatively well-to-do persons who own one or more small hillsides which produce lumber and rattan. They hire several workers to work the year round to cut lumber and split rattan, and raise a few oxen for transporting them downhill to the Chinese markets. This lumbering enterprise is very profitable. 313 554 Among the wealthy owners is Lu Tsun-ying, the Miao headman of Ang-chi village in Ta-ch'i. Although he owns only a meager amount of property, he is considered one of the few comparatively wealthy people among the Miao, but he is not to be compared with the big landowners among the Li.

/30/ Chapter IV. Social Organization

1. The Family

592 594 596 The family is the basic unit of Miao social organization, with both large families and small families existing at the same time. A "large family" is a family of three generations or more living together. Two generations or more living separately is a "small family." When a comparison is made, however, the large family

592 /30 cont'd/
594 seems to be more prevalent. It is not uncommon to see a Miao
596 family of eight to ten people, of three generations, father, son, grandson, living in a single thatched hut.

592 A family at the least consists of a man, his wife, and their
593 children. The father is, of course, the head of the family, who is
562 in charge of the affairs of the whole family. Every member of the family must obey his directions in everyday family work, and even in personal behavior each receives his concern. For instance, in the
[582 marriage of sons and daughters, although free choice as the basis of
584] marriage is permitted in many cases, there are also many marriages which are arbitrarily determined by the head of the family. In the latter case, the children have no way of raising objections. Generally, the father in a Miao family is more powerful and respected than he is in a Li family.

593 There is a big difference in another aspect, the position of the
171 man and woman in the family. The Miao women are submissive. From what I have heard, this is completely different from the manner of the Li women. It is easy for a Miao husband to give orders to his wife while the Li husband is unable to do so. However,
596 it is rather strange that polygamy is completely forbidden among the Miao. Regardless of whether he is wealthy or not, or whether he has a son /31/ or not, a Miao husband can never take a second wife (i.e. concubine), unless his first wife has died. For instance, the Miao headman, Lu Tsun-ying, is generally considered to be wealthy and influential. He is already fifty years old and is still without an heir, but he has no intention of taking a concubine. We have not yet been able to point out clearly the background which has created this kind of rule. The following two points may serve as possible explanations. In the first place, the Miao have only a
[182] limited area of land, and it is hard for them to make a living on it. Forbidding concubinage may serve to avoid the problem of overpopu-
[582] lation. Secondly, they have strictly followed the rule of marriage within the group (i.e., a Miao may only marry a Miao). But the entire Miao population is not very large. In order to maintain a balance between the male and female population, monogamy must

/33 cont'd/
61 through frequent contacts and mutual interests. It is possible for this relationship to be even closer than that between those of the same surname who live far apart.

61 In summarizing, all subjective conditions necessary for the
121 development of the Miao kin group seem to have fully matured.
[[71]] Their social organization will change once their economic life takes on a new direction. As far as this point is concerned, Miao society seems more advanced than Li society.

3. The Village

621 There is usually a village on every hill. The village is the most important center of the Miao social organization. It is not only a natural unit within certain geographic limits but also a community of common economic life. This point will be reserved for discussion in the next section. Now let us look at the external appearance of the village and its other aspects and activities.

[618 There are two kinds of villages: one is the village consisting
592] of two or more surnames; the other consists of only one. The former type forms the large majority. A large village usually consists of more than ten or more families; a small one consists of several
[361 families. Their houses are close to each other in a cluster. The
311] village is usually encircled by a wood or bamboo fence in which there is a gate, but there are also villages which are unenclosed,
622 without fence or gate. The cultivable mountain land is always outside the village; inside the village there are only a few vegetable gardens. The headman of the village today is called chia-ch'ang /"head of a chia, or 100 families"/ or pao-ch'ang /"head of a pao, or 10 chia"/; (for detailed information consult the author's previous work, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island). Before the pao-chia system was put into practice in the Miao and Li region by the government, the headman of a village, it is said, was called shan-chia /"mountain chief"/. /34/ This position was usually filled by an older man elected by the villagers. The qualifications for this position were ability to read Chinese, knowledge, experience, and Taoist persuasion. It is not definitely established

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Misc AE5

596 in House 16. The man in House 26 was son
621 of the man in House 27, as was also the man in House 30. The younger man in House 28 was nephew of the man and wife in House 29. With the old man in House 27 lived one married son. The man in House 32 was son of the old man in House 33, who had another married son living at home. The widow in House 34 was the old man's sister-in-law. The wife of the man in House 31 was a niece of the wife of the man in House 17.

596 If one considers them by households, they
592 included, first, one of the Chinese extended family type living in one connected group of buildings. This family consisted of a man of seventy, his first wife, aged seventy-two,

[17c]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Misc AE5

596
592 their son and his two wives and two sons, both of whom died, a second wife of the old man, aged forty-seven, her two unmarried daughters, a nephew with his two wives and five sons, a second nephew with a wife and five children, and the third nephew and his wife, succeeded by the two boys.

I came to know this family fairly well, as it was in their "new house" that I lived all my time in the village. The old man was head of the family. He was not well (heart disease) and seldom left his rooms in bad weather. Even on warm, sunny days he rarely left the court. It was usually a sign of something important going on when he came out. He dictated as to relations with the outside world, such as the sale of timber or grain, and his word was law in disputes. His second wife stayed very close and came into the room whenever he was likely to get excited. The

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-7) 1947 AE5 Miso AE5

Types of Families

	No. of persons
1 large family with 1 man who has two wives, a married son by the first and two daughters by the second; three nephews with families	24
15 families with parents or widower or widow	
6 with married son, family, other unmarried children	37
6 with married son and his family	39
1 with married son and family, second wife and children	8
1 of widower and children	4
4 of widows with children	14
1 of widow alone	1
15 simple families (man, wife, children)	58
1 man and wife	2
Total	187

[We]

596 .592

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

596 men of the family — his son, the nephews,
and their sons — and his own daughters had
592 free access to his rooms. The second wife
was the household manager. The others evidently took their orders for the day from her, even the first wife lacking full independence from planning for the family as a whole. This second wife was a good planner, but I thought I detected times when her rule was a bit resented. She seemed, by the force of her personality, to have usurped almost completely the place of the first wife. Her daughters — one married and living in a village twenty miles away called Yang-niu-ts'un (Yang cattle village) and the two at home — were very like her. She was a fascinating woman with much poise, and her daughters were handsomer than most of
596 the Miao women I saw. The oldest one at
home, Mo-mei (fig. 19, *e*), aged nineteen,
512 was very skillful with her needle, at dyeing cloth, and such "clean" tasks, and spent much time washing her own clothes and visiting relatives. She made it a habit to come in for a visit with me before bedtime, which was early, as neither candles nor vegetable oil lamp gave me enough light to see to read or sew. On the days when their stable was cleared and their large field set out with rice plants she helped and rather set the pace, but on successive days she worked on more congenial tasks. The younger girl, ten, had some schooling. The older wife headed the second group of the family at such times as certain feasts in the house — the wives of the nephews, the son's wife, and the younger children, and the two young men. But at the chief feasts of the year she joined the group in the old man's room. She was very bent and probably could not do as much work as when she was younger. She spent much time taking care of the grandsons and in gardening. After the rice harvest she was busy with the sunning
[768] of grain. After the old man died she wore the skirt worn by a bride and her attendants doubled across the back instead of the back apron, as the old lady in House 12 had done.

462 Aside from during the very busiest season of the year, when rice was transplanted, I saw none of the men of the family doing hard work. For a while it seemed as if the son and second nephew did nothing but sleep and

 eat.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

THE daily tasks of living furnished the framework for group activities within the family and between families. Such activities included those connected with the transplanting and harvesting of rice, the cleaning of stables and the transportation of fertilizer, fishing and digging for water chestnuts, going to the mountains for firewood, and to market to sell and buy, and the construction and repair of a house, for these in which members of several households worked together were greatly enjoyed in the doing and always followed by a pecial meal furnished by the owners of the house, stable, or fields worked upon that day. When they went to market they waited until several had their loads ready before starting off. They also returned in groups and stopped to rest and talk at a point about half way, where they could drink from a spring or in a wayside teahouse. 571

When a household was of the extended family type living in a connected group of buildings, they furnished among themselves a good deal of social life, for men and women worked together or the women in their group, children played together, and together they gathered around the firepits to eat, talk, and smoke. On rainy days the women also came together to sew, make thread, and mend. Even when the buildings were more separate, the homes tended to be grouped so that the households mingled freely and helped one another at work or in the entertainment of guests. A group of girls were often seen in the home of one of them embroidering, chatting very gayly over designs and plans, smoking, and laughing. The village was not extensive and there was constant opportunity to meet and talk, with much teasing and laughter. Women carried leaves of tobacco in the folds of their turbans, men in rolls in little metal boxes; pipes and tobacco were shared in a group. 592

Calendric feasts afforded the opportunity for both interfamily and intervillage activities. The festivals of the lunar New Year, Ch'ing Ming, and San Yüeh San, as well as lesser festivals such as Tuan Yang and Hsiao Mang, were accompanied by offerings to the house 796 571

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

timber into agricultural implements, and did so. I have never found out what the truth of the matter was, but the Miao lost his case because the *hsien* judge found that his witnesses had not told the truth at other points.

Another case was that of a Miao who had become so angry at his wife that he had her jailed. Her relatives wanted to have her released so that her child need not be born in prison. The husband had disappeared and could not be found to ask him to change his mind. I wrote to the magistrate in the next *hsien*, and after his condition that some merchant in the city go surety for her was met, she was released.

A family in Shang-sai wished to build a house. The head of the family borrowed money from his brother. This brother later brought suit for the return of some of the loan. This was paid at the *hsien* offices on the day set, but the brother did not appear to receive it. Later the family who had received the loan sued the brother for the expense to which they had been put because of his failure to come and receive the payment on the day set.

These, of course, were only a few of the disputes which arose in the village or among the whole group of Cowrie Shell Miao. Most small matters were settled among themselves. Much of the old man's time was taken up with such cases. Sometimes others of the village elders were called in for consultation. This was according to the Chinese Government system, though in effect this formed the village government, or council. If matters could not be settled by them, they were taken before the *lien pao* official, and, if necessary, to the *hsien* magistrate.

Economic Institutions. Within Cowrie Shell Miao society there were no specific economic institutions. Families formed economic units, and as such carried on trade with Chinese merchants and rice brokers in the *hsien* city. Just inside the walls were a few tea-shops owned by city-dwelling Cowrie Shell Miao, conveniently situated for visiting country kinfolk to gather before they returned to their villages from market. The shop keepers were gardeners and farmers as well, and much of their trade was really a form of family visits. In their shops, as well

A /35 cont./
M outbreak of serious /36/ illness, it is his business to have the
596 shaman summoned and then to play the role of assistant in his
756 performances.

d) Age Classes, Clans, Secret Societies, Rank Organization

A Secret societies and clubs, as well as age-class organiza-
M tions are unknown among both peoples. Neither among the
571 Meau nor among the Akha did I find any indication of the
114 existence of a clan /Klan/ system or of individual clans.
614 Nevertheless, ancient Chinese sources often mention clans among the various Meau tribes (1). Also in the works of French

1. Eberhard, II, p. 274.

authors the term comes up occasionally. In the latter cases one can easily see that the authors confuse clan and sib, that is, they use the term "clan" in place of "sib." Possibly the Chinese authors also use "clan" in a different sense than it is used in German ethnography. There are no guilds, organizations of merchants or craftsmen, ranks, castes, or nobility.

M Among the Meau, in addition to the free there are also
592 the unfree, who, however, are not to be confused with slaves.
[736] In the case of the unfree, it is rather a matter of Meau who are alone, whose relatives have died as a consequence of war, sickness, or old age, and who, having grown up within the unit of the large family, now have no possibility of enduring the struggle for existence as solitary individuals. In the forests of Farther India the isolated individual is not equal to the struggle for existence. The larger the community, the easier is the struggle for survival. The Meau is well aware of this fact and
M strives at all costs to enlarge the community. Thus it is the
[842] self-evident aim of the Meau to have as many children as
M possible, and he demands ten children and more from each of
[737] his wives! Despite the great fertility, however, there are

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/36 cont./

M 592 737 always solitary old people; above all, epidemics have caused whole sibs to die out! Thus it happens relatively often that an individual in old age does not have the care to which he is entitled according to the social organization. Such survivors of an extinct /37/ community turn to the head of a powerful large family, one which consists of as many members as possible, and ask permission to put themselves under its protection. Such a petition is never rejected, even if it comes from an old person who will be only a burden to the large family. Such unfree persons are given their sustenance, and they try as well as they can to be useful to the community.

A 466 Among the Akha there is no distinction between the free and the unfree. Here the rich man hires the poor for work in the fields and pays them for their labor. These workers, however, do not live in the house of the employer and are completely "free" in every other respect. Thus, among the Akha A 737 solitary old men live completely alone; only in the case of old women does it sometimes happen that they attach themselves to a friendly family. This does not in any way affect their position as "free" Akha.

A M 567 M [648] Among the Akha there are no slaves at all in the true sense of the word, and among the Meau only in the form of debt-slaves (cf. the chapter, "Law and the Administration of Justice," section on "Property Law"), who are usually sold to Chinese traders, in which case, however, the seller as well as the buyer usually have in mind the sale of the individual for purposes of adoption. This has already been discussed in detail in the section, "Organization of the Family," in this chapter.

A M 571 114 On the basis of all that has been said, there is true father-right among the Meau as well as among the Akha. It would be mistaken to speak of the influences of mother right, totemism, and even promiscuity, as is done by older authors with reference to the Meau. It also seems to be overshooting the mark when, on the other hand, a "patriarchal original-culture" /"vaterrechtliche Urkultur"/ is discussed, as in

/265 cont./

621 I usually found the houses of the Meau occupied by one
596 large /extended/ family; the independent sons build their houses in the vicinity of the paternal dwelling (see the chapter, "Social Organization"). This explains why in many cases only blood

312
415
824

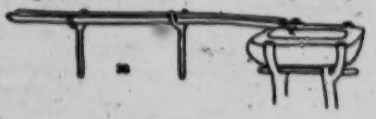


Fig. 58. Bamboo water-line with water-trough of the Meau. 1/30 nat. size.

621 relatives live in one village.
[596] In order to be able to give a more detailed picture of the nature and composition of a village community, I am adding here a short description of the inhabitants of the village mentioned above.

592 Explanation in connection with the individual houses of
621 the village plan in Fig. 57. House 1: It has an attached rice
[343] granary and an enlarged sleeping room for strangers. The per-
[551] sonal name of the father of the house is Tua; his family name, Sen Ku. He is the son of the shaman and the cousin of the chief. The housewife comes from the Meau village of Kun Lan (at the source of the Nam Lan). She had ten children, of whom four boys and five girls are living. All the children are still unmarried and living at home.

[343] House 2: It has an attached granary for rice and maize and an attached bedroom for the oldest son. Father of the
[551] house: personal name, Lau Ju; family name, Sen Ku. He is likewise a son of the shaman and cousin of the chief. The housewife comes from the ancient Meau village at the second source-stream of the Nam Fa. She has five children, all of whom live at home. There are three boys and two girls. One child died as an infant.

[513] House 3: It has an enclosed sleeping place for the parents, and next to it a sleeping place for the married son and his wife and an attached bedroom for strangers. The father of the house

/265 cont./

592 621 [551] is the shaman of the village. Personal name, Plai Tschau; family name, Sen Ku. He is a /266/ brother of the deceased father of the chief. The housewife comes from the Meau village Muang Hu (north of Luang Prabang). Eight of her children died at a later age, presumably of malaria. Three of them [164] died only a year ago within one week, which indicates an [734] epidemic. The youngest son, 23 years of age, is completely paralyzed. He lives in the house with his young wife.

[513] House 4. It has only one open bedroom for the entire family, and one for strangers. The father of the house is a son of the shaman. The housewife comes from the Meau village of Pu Kung; she has three boys and two girls. One child died.

[342 513] House 5: The walling of the house is merely halved bamboo stalks. It has only one sleeping area for the father and the infant. The married son and his wife sleep on mats on the [551] ground. The father of the house is a White Meau with the personal name of Tschai Su, family name Tau. The housewife died a short time ago and five children have died; only the oldest son and an infant are living.

[622 551] House 6: House of the village chief (see the ground plan, Fig. 63). Personal name, Pan Sung; family name, Sen Ku (the Lao call him Tsin Tsai). By his first wife, who died four years ago, he had 11 children, one of whom died. By his second, present wife he has two children, two and three years of age. His [587] wife brought seven children into the marriage. In addition, he [595] has in his house the cousin of the White Meau of house 5 as his secondary wife, but no children by her. Two married sons with wives also live in the house.

House 7: See the groundplan, Fig. 67. The father of the [551] house is a White Meau: personal name, You Wu; family name, Tau. He is the youngest brother of the father of house 5, that [756] is to say, the cousin of the third wife of the chief. The housewife is a White Meau and a female shaman. She had seven children; three adult sons died two years ago, one after another, [731 164] of cholera. The surviving members of the family therefore fled to relatives in Nam Fa.

/266 cont./

592 621 [551] [164] [732] House 8: The father of the house: personal name, Yin; family name, Sen Sun. He is not related to the other villagers and allegedly moved here only because good fields could be laid out here. He looks cretinous, and this is said to have happened after an attack of fever (meningitis?), but he is a good worker, and with his daughter of about 20 he lives in peace with the other inhabitants of Nam Fa. /Ills. 52-57 appear here on unnumbered pages./

34 /267/ Among the Meau in Thailand, we were able to distinguish five house-types:

1. Dwelling houses,
2. Granary housing,
3. Stables,
4. Smithies,
5. Rice-field huts.

There are no houses for special purposes, such as cookhouses, guardhouses, inns, spirit houses, or such for cult associations. Except for the smithies, there is no artisan's housing.

1. Dwelling Houses

342 The main entrance of the houses have to lie, not in a definite direction, but on the valley side, in order to prevent the water rushing down the slope from entering the house. On 351 the mountain side of each house there is a drainage ditch which guides the masses of water from the tropical storms past the house and into a gutter, in which it then, as in a brook, plunges into the valley. /Figs. 59-62 appear here./

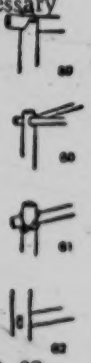
342 [353] When one steps into a Meau dwelling, he at first gets a very cheerless impression because of the darkness prevailing in it and the smoke-blackening which covers all the walls and furnishings. Also, corresponding with the previously described seminomadism of the mountain peoples, not too much effort and care are used in the construction of the houses. Boards, [322] beams, supporting posts, partitioning walls, and all parts of the [335] roof are merely roughly hewn with the ax and show marked irregularities. As binding materials, rattan and bamboo are [824] used exclusively; sawing, nailing, or glueing is unknown. On [353] the other hand, posts and beams are joined in various ways (Figs. 59-62). With a longer stay, however, and more precise

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 369]

/267 cont./

342 observation of the domestic life, it appears that the living
[353] habits cannot be called primitive by any means; the houses are appropriately and serviceably furnished and do not lack a certain coziness.

/268/ The houses are rectangular and always built on the
[592] ground. Each house is inhabited by the entire family and is the
[556] larger the more numerous the family members are. Just as a
[858] man's wealth depends largely on the number of his children, that is, his work force, so also do the size and equipment of
352 his house. If many children have died and no relatives can be
353 taken in as house members, the houseowner naturally does not
556 have the time to do more work than is absolutely necessary for his subsistence. In this case, his house looks dilapidated; it is not kept clean,
[778] there are no chairs or tables, the house altar consists of only a simple board, the
[335] sleeping areas are only partially enclosed by a plank wall or not at all, the household equipment is sparse, and the laboriously hewn planks for the house walls are often replaced merely by plaited work, fan palms, or split bamboo (Ill. 105).[1] Never-
342 theless, a pervasive uniform style of construction is discernible. Every house has, as a rule, two entrances. One leads directly into the kitchen, the other into the living room.



Figs. 59-62. Ways of fastening posts and beams in the houses of the Meau.

[354] The cooking area with the hearth and the
[353] tables and stands for the cooking utensils, the altar for the
[574] spirit of the house, the rice pounder, an open fireplace, and
[353] a resting place for guests are found along the wall opposite the main entrance. Every house has several storage lofts in the
[251] interior. If the storage lofts and granary are inadequate for the field produce to be stored, there is often found on one house wall a small addition which serves as a granary. If needed,

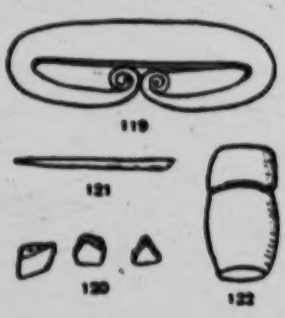
1 [See cat 116, p705 - ANALYST]

This fireplace is

354 /300 cont./ the place of the father of
[512] the house; he rests here when he smokes his pipe after the
[592] work is done. /301/ he sits here with his sons when there
[574] is something to be talked over, he receives strangers here,
and there is talk, laughter, and singing here, often until
[372] midnight. The fire blazes, leaps, and crackles day and
342 night. Savina (1) describes a small room with a hearth that

1. II, p. 192.

serves as a kitchen and is found next to the large living
[574] room in which the guests are received. He further
describes at the same place a living room for guests as
follows: "The room at the other side of the central room
contains one or two beds and a hearth. Here the guests
512 are lodged and this is where the men retire after the even-
462 ing meal while the women wash up and put the children
to bed. Soon the entire family assembles there. The men
smoke, chat and laugh, chop grass for the horses, split pine
roots for fuel, plait carrying baskets, make handles for tools,
and do similar work. The women break up hemp, sew,
372 weave, and repair old clothing. At the end of the evening,
[512]



Figs. 119-122
Firemaking apparatus of the Meau.
Fig. 119. Iron, 1/nat. size. Fig. 120. Flints,
1/2 nat. size. Fig. 121. Little stick of wood,
[415] 1/2 nat. size. Fig. 122. Bamboo container,
1/5 nat. size.

Miao AE5

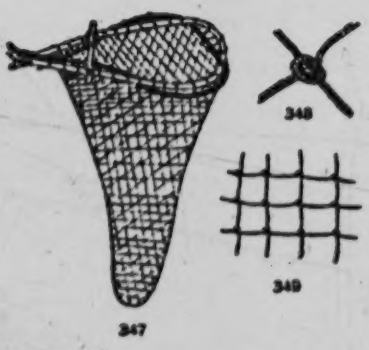
/400 cont./

285 The mats of the Meau are plaited with rattan strips one to one and a half centimeters wide and always display the same plaiting pattern (Fig. 329). The type of plaiting is very tight and the edges are carefully finished, so /401/ that these mats show great durability. They are almost square and on the average 1.60X1.50 meters in size. They are used as an [513] [243] underlayer for sleeping and to spread the ears of rice on during the threshing, as well as for drying the threshed grain.

286 The Meau also produce nets, which are either knotted or crocheted, but not knitted (Figs. 347, 348, and 349). The [413] crochet needle is of wood and consists of a small hook with an attached handle about 20 centimeters long. It is called kŭń.

285 Abadie also mentions the skill of the Meau in the production of plaited work: "Every Meau is more or less a plaiter, [592] and the entire household makes carrying baskets of rattan fiber or bamboo. Every member of the family owns a piece in the size appropriate to his strength."

283



Furthermore the Meau make all the ropes, from the thinnest strings to thick ropes and hide ropes. To make thin strings three fibers of rattan or of the bast /Figs. 347-349 appear here/ of certain trees are twisted on the

[227] [286] Figs. 347-349. Handnet of the Meau for Fishing, about 1/20 nat. size. The knotted net is tied to a stick bent in the shape of a circle. Fig. 348, knots; Fig. 349, net meshes; 1/2 nat. size.

upper or lower leg (Ill. 64). 1 Greater degrees of strength are obtained by adding three fibers each time, so that a thicker

1 [See Cat 116, P470- ANALYST]